/240 cont./

184 This immediate datum is thrust upon the observer as on the users. In addition, for the analysis, it will be the best of the bases of departure.

Admittedly, difficulty begins almost at once. For if one indeed sees the basic unity, contrasting with the vehemence of the personalities that stand out from it, the investigation fails to press the contrast harder. For example, we do not know the Gedmiwa, a group of antiquity as venerable as the Seksawa, well enough for the comparison between the two to go beyond the plane of simple description. It is not yet possible to define seriously the culture of this Moroccan South-West, which asserts itself by characters as tangible as the speech or the very figure of the inhabitant. It is not yet possible to state precisely or to explain how, out of this homogeneity, particularisms /241/ sufficiently lively for their exchanges to be ordered in relations of extemal law are articulated.

131 [133] Here between the Lemgo, the Kattos, and the Atlasic arête is a mountainous quadrilateral some thirty kilometers on a side as the crow flies. At least four juridical identities are crowded there: Nfifa, Demsira, Dwiran, and Seksawa. And each one in turn is subdivided.

619 [585] [691] [695] The consistency of the amerwas, "matrimonial gift," the effective force of coswearers imposed according to the gravity of a litigation go from simple to double if the litigants do not belong to the same unit. Today the unit is the "tribe": Seksawa, Dwiran, etc. But this can also be, more authentically, what we 619 call the "fraction," that is, the taqbilt. And there are seven or 634 eight of them merely in Seksawa. Thus, in Demsira, the rate of 585 the amerwas varies according to four zones which apply the regime of exteriority to one another. In the case of a girl given [184] to a Mtuggi, the chchard', stipulated marriage-settlement for the benefit of the bride, includes in certain taqbilt-s, and not in 619 others, the obligation for landed property. In land matters, 634 extracantonal testimony is not secured. Avowed reason: because 691 the foreigner could not be well informed. But, obviously, it is [186] because the group prizes its juridical integrity. Between different [184]

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182 coincide. An analysis /443/ that was more profound would uncover, I believe, other cases of discordance of the various series of facts between themselves on the one hand, with the cantonal cadre on the other. For if this last, which is connected to the geography, has acted to such an extent, through its physical consistency as well as through its limitations, upon everything that touches on the organizations, other orders of things, subjacent in a way to the group life, have remained independent of this cadre and are understood only by reference to a broader generality.

If it is indeed so, one sees why and how this canton so well protected seeks, on the side of a geographical, doctrinal, or political depassment, the ransom of a particularism submitted to rather than constructed. The humblest cell is connected, by a whole network of virtualities, to material or ethical systems that far surpass it. These virtualities, legacy of history, are roused under shocks, appearing in case of need. Wider and wider circles of solidarity can then be roused around minute centers. And the local genius, among all these configurations with shifting and ambiguous names: sect, tribe, party, finds a thousand occasions for games of guile and devotion. Every montagnard of adventurous instinct has at his disposal, merely in the depths of his valley, a clavier of correspondences, with which it depends only upon his audacity, his talent in knowing how to play, in order to make of him a prophet, or a conqueror, or, more modestly, a politician.

177 Let us leave the scene of the upper cantons for that of the
186 Sous in its ensemble. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ have fully suffered the impact of the oriental culture. Patient and scrupulous, at the same time that they adhered to it on the plane of faith, they sought there their own values. They find a balance in these syntheses, of which their law is the most successful. Adhesion to others, the necessity and the taste for compromise have maintained among them not only subtlety, but a personality of dependence. This fine construction is made and judged with respect to external ideals. It dares be itself only stealthily. Its identity, even more than its autonomy, suffers in this. It is marked by what a modern school would call a feeling of "altérité" /otherness/.

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177 This is not the place here to investigate the ethical consequences
• 186 of the fact. Let us simply note the verification that it brings to bear, by the consciousness and the very avowal of the subject, on the dependencies disclosed by the analysis in the life of the most remote cantons. Now this genius does not give way for all that. There will therefore be controversy between adhesion to others and the nostalgia of oneself. Its determination by the outside becomes, according to the case, transcendence from the outside or rebellion from the inside.

It is naturally on the level of expression that /444/ compromise is realized most. Whence it happens that these people express themselves little and poorly. Whence it happens that all social or personal life feels the effects of a discord between different layers of psychology. Also, in many cases, the group as well as the individual will have the feeling of again seizing their identity only in excess, violence. Whence these impulsive fits of a patient and devout race: heresy, with which it peoples the "dark centuries," and, at all times, a millenarianism fertile in bursts. While waiting for other modes of expression...

The Maghreb, Continuous Tissue

177 Parallel to the Dir, in the region of Imintanout, runs the boundary between the Chleuh /Shluh/ and the Arab. It is also, at least today, a boundary between tribes and ways of life. It is not an ethnological boundary. A detailed analysis would show that there is no exact coincidence between the different orders of facts (1).

[177] 1. The patient inquiries of A. Basset reveal on this subject surprising reciprocal relations. The word asnus in the sense of "young ass" is employed in Morocco only in the zone not reached by Romanity. Lexicographical variants that go back to Moroccan events appear in the bend of

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616 619 descendants of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, from whom they made their amghars and their kings. They believe their leff superior in nobility or in courage to that of the richer, but less warlike agriculturalists; the "Aoggwa" are thus ashamed to acknowledge their origin, and the members of this leff, it is said, have come to the use of secret signs in order to recognize one another (1). [186]

1. This feeling of inferiority of the Aoggwa is not one of the least difficulties of the investigations made in order to learn the distribution of the two leffs.

[634] The stability of both parties, without being so great, perhaps, as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, nevertheless suffices for easily distinguishing the leffs from the secondary alliances concluded between cantons in order to settle local disputes; such temporary associations are rarely established between fractions of tribes belonging to opposite leffs.

616 619 648 175 The same as in the Haut-Atlas, the policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has tried in the Anti-Atlas to utilize the rivalries of leffs in order to penetrate into the mountains more easily. In particular, the sultans seem to have set the mass of the Chtouka against the center of resistance of the Igezzoulen, which the Tazerwalt had been for three centuries. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who had put to flight the marabout of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Hachem, amghar of the Igezzoulen, swept along with him the tribes of the Sous plain and the Chtouka of the "Aoggwa" leff; and people still say to comment on this defeat: /204/ "By God, O Gezzoula, is it not shameful for us that Aghennaj threshed at the gates of Illigh" (1).

1. Justinard, ibid., p. 362.

[193] Aghennaj, moreover, continued his march as far as the desert, reached Tamanart, the other traditional center of the power

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343 571 554 683 Moreover, it is important to defend the sentences of the "ᶜommal" against all foreign interference. The justice of the chraᶜ /sharᶜ, sharia: canonical law of Islam/ has nothing to do with their affairs, and one who says that the "louh" is only childish stuff and cannot serve for judging people lies and accuses the notables of errors; and that is as serious as accusing God himself of lying, because the notables are as sacred as the "louh," and every question not foreseen in the "louh" is consigned to their minds. The "louh" and the notables are as one. He who does not admit it will have to pay 50 dinars!

343 571 554 [574] [691] Under these conditions one understands that the leaders of the fortress naturally come to regard the "louh" and the fortress itself as their own property. It is necessary to offer them a meal in order to have the right to take cognizance of the collection of customary law, of which they are the sole holders. They claim that their competence extends to all circumstances of the common life, and there is scarcely anything but the repression of murder, doubtless reserved for the common ᶜorf of the fractions, [434] that escapes them. They keep the better part of all the fines that [681] they collect, and the agadir treasury receives a part only if it is a [652] matter of a quarrel or theft.

[556] [491] The "ᶜommal," by the spirit of their deliberations, thus constitute a small privileged senate, made up of rich men who exploit as they like the capital deposited in the agadir by the tribe. On the other hand, they guarantee the safety of the deposits and facilitate all /258/ the complicated transactions that a skillful legislation, whose secret they have, permits realizing.

[186] Such juridical monuments give the Berbères /Berbers/ pride in these spontaneous creations of the genius of their race. Just as people cite the best-constructed agadirs and take their arrangement as a model when it becomes necessary to build, by general corvée, a new fortress, so do they copy, while adapting them, the best-known "louh." Those of Tammellokt to the south of Tiout, of Tamalout of the Id Nouh in the Sirwa, of Ajarif or of Tasgent of the Ilalen are among the most famous.